

Message Text

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ACTION HA-05

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 IO-13 ISO-00 TRSE-00 OMB-01 AID-05

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 /088 W

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R 270915Z JUL 78

FM AMEMBASSY MBABANE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5298

INFO USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY MASERU

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: EAID, SREF, LT, WZ, BC

SUBJECT: GRANT FOR UNHCR ASSISTANCE FOR SOUTHERN AFRICAN
REFUGEES

1. WELCOME NOTICE (REF A) OF PAAD APPROVAL OF DOLS 4.225
MILLION GRANT FOR REFUGEES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA LEADS TO QUESTION
OF WHAT AN EQUITABLE DIVISION OF FUNDS WOULD BE. MY TWO RECENT
VISITS TO EACH OF BLS COUNTRIES IN THE PAST MONTH HAVE PROVIDED
A VIVID REMINDER OF THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL CON-
SEQUENCES OF THE REFUGEE QUESTION, THE EFFORTS OF GOVERNMENTS
TO COPE WITH IT AND THE DIFFERENT DIMENSIONS OF THE PROBLEM IN
EACH. FOLLOWING ARE MY RECOMMENDATIONS AND RATIONALE FOR
THEM.

2. CRITERIA. THE IMPACT OF REFUGEE PRESENCE IN A
COUNTRY DEPENDS UPON A WIDE RANGE OF POLITICAL,
ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL FACTORS INCLUDING:

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(A) TOTAL NUMBER OF REFUGEES; (B) THEIR
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN; (C) DEGREE OF POLITICIZATION AND
POLITICAL ACTIVISM OF REFUGEES AND IMPACT ON HOST
COUNTRY POPULATION; (D) AVERAGE DURATION OF REFUGEES'
STAY IN THE HOST COUNTRY; (E) REFUGEE REQUIRE-
MENTS, I.E., WHETHER RESETTLEMENT, EDUCATION, TEMPORARY
CARE AND FEEDING PRIOR TO ONWARD MOVEMENT, ETC.;

(F) RANGE OF DEMANDS MADE ON THE HOST COUNTRY, E.G., FOOD SHELTER, SECURITY PROTECTION, TRANSPORTATION AND OTHER SERVICES.

3. BOTSWANA. BY ALL CRITERIA, BOTSWANA BEARS A DIS-PROPORTIONATE BURDEN OF THE REFUGEE PROBLEM. IN TERMS OF NUMBERS, IT IS GENERALLY AGREED THERE ARE NOW MORE THAN 12,000 WITH UNINTERRUPTED FLOW OF REFUGGES FROM RHODESIA UP TO SEVERAL HUNDRED PER DAY. ON THE OTHER HAND, NUMBER OF REFUGEES FROM SOUTH AFRICA REMAINS RELATIVELY STATIC, I.E., AT ABOUT 800. GOS IS FACED WITH PROBLEM OF CATERING TO WIDE SPECTRUM OF REQUIREMENTS, E.G., (A) RESETTLEMENT OF RHODESIAN (MOSTLY ZAPU) REFUGEES AT MOSETSE (ONE HOUR'S DRIVE NORTHWEST OF FRANCISTOWN; (B) TEMPORARY HOUSING AND FEEDING OF RHODESIAN REFUGEES FOR PERIODS RANGING FROM SEVERAL WEEKS TO YEARS, PRIOR TO BEING MOVED TO ZAMBIA -- PROVIDED TRANSPORT AND FUNDS ARE AVAILABLE; (C) POLITICALLY MILITANT SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS, FOR WHOM SCHOOLS ARE BEING BUILD (THANKS TO U.S. CONTRIBUTION TO UNHCR LAST YEAR), BUT WHO IN THE MEANWHILE STILL HANG AROUND STREETS OF GABORONE; AND (D) ESPECIALLY HEAVY DEMANDS ARE MADE ON GOB SECURITY FORCES BECAUSE REFUGEE CAMPS IN FRANCISTOWN ARE LOCATED WITHIN EASY STRIKING DISTANCE OF RHODESIAN FORCES. CONCLUSION: BY ANY STANDARDS, WHETHER NUMBERS, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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RANGE OF DEMANDS, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES, THE PRESENCE OF 12-13,000 REFUGEES JUSTIFIES THE ALLOCATION TO BOTSWANA OF TWO-THIRDS OF TOTAL FUNDS AID/W PLANS TO MAKE AVAILABLE TO UNHCR FOR BLS COUNTRIES.

4. LESOTHO. ABOUT 170 REFUGEES, NEARLY ALL FROM SOUTH AFRICA, ARE IN LESOTHO AT ANY ONE TIME. MANY REFUGEES ARE IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS; ABOUT 30 ARE REPORTEDLY ENROLLED AT LESOTHO NATIONAL UNIVERSITY. THE TOTAL IN EDUCATION PROBABALY DOES NOT EXCEED 100. THIS IS A POLITICALLY-ACTIVIST GROUP; ITS PRESENCE IS A RADICALIZING FORCE IN LESOTHO THAT INTERACTS CLOSELY WITH SIMILAR FORCES IN RSA. LESOTHO HAS BEEN GRANTED INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE,

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E.G., TO ENLARGE THE UNIVERSITY'S CAPACITY
TO ACCOMMODATE THOSE QUALIFIED AND INTERESTED IN
ENROLLING; SIMILARLY WITH SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS.
IN CONTRAST TO REFUGEES IN BOTSWANA, REFUGEES IN
LESOTHO HAVE NO LOGICAL ONWARD DESTINATION SO THE
GOL BURDEN IS A LONG-TERM ONE. ANOTHER
UNDERLYING DIFFERENCE IS THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN REFUGEES
IN LESOTHO, COMING FROM URBAN AREAS, HAVE LITTLE OR NO
INTEREST IN RURAL RESETTLEMENT, EVEN IF THE OPPORTUNITY
EXISTED. CONCLUSION: ONE SIXTH OF GRANT TO UNHCR FOR
BLS COUNTRIES SHOULD BE EARMARKED TO ASSIST GOL TO PROVIDE
BASIC NEEDS, INCLUDING SUBSISTENCE, FEES AND SOME INFRASTRUCTURE
SUPPORT, E.G., CLASSROOMS AND HOUSING, TO FACILITATE CON-
TINUING EDUCATION OF THE ESTIMATED 170 SECONDARY AND
UNIVERSITY-LEVEL REFUGEES IN LESOTHO.

5. SWAZILAND. BY LATEST COUNT SOME 242 SOUTH AFRICANS
ARE REGISTERED AS REFUGEES IN SWAZILAND, ALONG WITH 67
MOZAMBICANS, 22 UGANDANS, 7 RHODESIANS, AND 3 "OTHER."
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OF THE SOUTH AFRICANS, SOME 100 ARE BEYOND SCHOOL AGE,
LEAVING APPROXIMATELY 70 OF PRIMARY-
SCHOOL AGE, 60 SECONDARY-SCHOOL LEVEL REFUGEES, AND
PERHAPS 10 AT UNIVERSITY-LEVEL. REFUGEES ARE PARTICULARLY
DIFFICULT TO ABSORB IN SWAZILAND BECAUSE OF COUNTRY'S
EXTREME ETHNOCENTRISM. BEING HOMOGENEOUS, SWAZI POPULA-
TION IS NOT NATURALLY HOSPITABLE WHERE FOREIGNERS,
EVEN BLACKS FROM NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, ARE CONCERNED.

GO' PREFERRED SOLUTION IS TO KEEP DOWN THE NUMBER OF REFUGEES; THOSE IT CANNOT KEEP FROM COMING HERE ARE PLACED IN CAMPS AND ATTEMPTS ARE MADE TO KEEP THEM ISOLATED FROM SWAZIS. HOWEVER, THERE IS CURRENTLY A PROJECT WHICH MAY HELP TO CHANGE GOS ATTITUDE AND FACILITATE INTEGRATION OF REFUGEES INTO STUDENT LIFE OF THE COUNTRY -- A PROJECT FOR KWALUSENI CAMPUS OF UBS WHICH WOULD INCLUDE CONSTRUCTION OF 48-BED DORMITORY AND ADDITIONAL CLASSROOM AND OFFICE SPACE. QUID PRO QUO WOULD HAVE TO BE GOS UNDERTAKING TO MADE 50 SPECES AVAILABLE FOR SOUTH AFRICAN (OR OTHER) REFUGEES, WHETHER CURRENTLY LIVING IN SWAZILAND OR BOTSWANA (AS ADDRESSEES MAY BE AWARE, SOME UBS COURSES INVOLVE STUDY AT BOTSWANA CAMPUS FOR FIRST YEARS AND STUDY AT SWAZILAND CAMPUSES FOR FINISHING YEARS, AND VICE VERSA.) COST OF THIS PROJECT WAS ESTIMATED AT TIME OF SEPTEMBER 1977 FARAH MISSION TO BE ABOUT DOLS 510,000. ESTIMATE WAS HASTILY PREPARED AND, CONSIDERING THE INFLATION FACTOR, ULTIMATE COST MAY WELL SUBSTANTIALLY EXCEED 1977 ESTIMATE. CONCLUSION: TO HELP GOS CARE FOR REFUGEES, WHICH IT REGARDS AS UNAVOIDABLE PROBLEM, AND AS INCENTIVE TO IMPROVE GOS TREATMENT OF REFUGEES, WE RECOMMEND THAT ONE-SIXTH OF U.S. CONTRIBUTION TO UNHCR BE EARMARKED FOR UBS CONSTRUCTION PROJECT.

NORLAND

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